

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-10

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 H-01 PRS-01 CIAE-00 INR-10

NSAE-00 RSC-01 NSC-10 NSCE-00 USIA-04 L-02 DRC-01

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R 061652Z DEC 73

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9118

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

AMCONSUL MUNICH

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 17592

LIMDIS

WARSAW FOR BRAINARD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, XG, GW

SUBJECT: EUROPEAN FUNDING OF RADIO FREE EUROPE AND
RADIO LIBERTY

REF: (A) BAKER-MEEHAN LETTER 11/21/73; (B) STATE 231742

1. WE APPRECIATED OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS RFE/RL
PROBLEMS, PARTICULARLY PROBLEM OF EUROPEAN FUNDING,
DURING BRAINARD VISIT.

2. SINCE THERE IS EVIDENT RISK THAT CONGRESS WILL
SEVERELY CURTAIL RADIOS' FY 1975 BUDGET IF RESPECTABLE
EUROPEAN CONTRIBUTION IS NOT FORTHCOMING, WE ENDORSE
ADDITIONAL HIGH-LEVEL APPROACHES ON EUROPEAN FUNDING,
BOTH IN THOSE CAPITALS WHERE THERE IS SOME HOPE OF
SUCCESS--E.G. BONN AND/LONDON--AND ALSO BY DEPARTMENT
REPRESENTATIVES IN WASHINGTON.

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3. ON PAST EXPERIENCE, WE ARE NOT OPTIMISTIC ABOUT PROSPECTS FOR A SUBSTANTIAL GERMAN CONTRIBUTION. AMONG ARGUMENTS AGAINST IT (IN GERMAN EYES) ARE:

- (A) DESIRE, IN THEIR RELATIONS WITH USSR AND EE'S, TO BE IN POSITION TO REPRESENT THE RADIOS AS US OPERATIONS AND THEREFORE EXCLUSIVELY US RESPONSIBILITY.
- (B) CONCERN OVER ANY ACTION WHICH MIGHT DIMINISH CHANCES FOR GOOD RESULTS IN BASKET THREE AT CSCE. THIS IS THE UNDERLYING REASON FOR FRG PREFERENCE TO POSTPONE SERIOUS CONSIDERATION OF EUROPEAN FUNDING AT LEAST UNTIL AFTER PHASE 2 OF CSCE HAS BEEN CONCLUDED.
- (C) POSSIBILITY THAT BRINGING THIS ISSUE BEFORE BUNDESTAG (WHICH WOULD BE UNAVOIDABLE IF BUDGETARY ITEM REQUIRED) WOULD CAUSE UNDESIRABLE POLITICAL FRICTIONS, PARTICULARLY WITHIN SPD. OUR CONTACTS HAVE EXPRESSED FEAR THAT SPD BUNDESTAG GROUP MIGHT SPLIT, A MAJORITY GOING ALONG WITH MOST OF FDP AND ALL OF CDU/CSU IN SUPPORTING RADIOS BUT WITH A FAIRLY SUBSTANTIAL MINORITY OPPOSING. CLEAR IMPLICATION IS THAT MODERATES AND LEFT WING MEMBERS IN SPD HAVE ENOUGH TO FIGHT OVER AT PRESENT WITHOUT THIS ADDITIONAL BONE OF CONTENTION.

4. NOTWITHSTANDING THESE ARGUMENTS, HOWEVER, AN APPEAL FOR EUROPEAN SUPPORT, IF PRESENTED AT A HIGH ENOUGH LEVEL MIGHT NOW FIND A MORE SYMPATHETIC HEARING IN BONN THAN WAS THE CASE A FEW MONTHS AGO. DESPITE FACT THAT FRG-CSSR TREATY IS NOW ON VERGE OF COMPLETION, THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT'S EASTERN POLICY HAS LOST MUCH OF ITS MOMENTUM AND, PROBABLY, SOME OF ITS POPULARITY.

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ACTION EUR-10

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 H-01 PRS-01 CIAE-00 INR-10

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FM AMEMBASSY BONN
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AMEMBASSY WARSAW
AMCONSUL MUNICH

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 BONN 17592

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INCLINATION TO AVOID ACTIONS WHICH COULD OFFEND EE
NEGOTIATING PARTNERS MIGHT NOT BE AS STRONG AS IT ONCE
WAS. IF FEDERAL GOVERNMENT ASSESSES SOBERLY THE
POSSIBILITIES OFFERED BY BASKET 3 OF CSCE, AND IF IT
COULD BE PERSUADED OF RISKS TO FUTURE EXISTENCE OF
RADIOS INHERENT IN CONGRESSIONAL ATTITUDES, THEN THERE
IS CHANCE THAT FRG POLITICAL LEADERS MIGHT NOW BE MORE
INCLINED TO SPEND THE POLITICAL CAPITAL NEEDED TO WIN
SUPPORT FOR EUROPEAN CONTRIBUTIONS.

5. WE PROPOSE TO REMIND FRG FONOFF WITHIN NEXT FEW DAYS
OF OUR INTEREST IN EUROPEAN FUNDING AND OF THE URGENCY
THIS ISSUE IS GIVEN BY CURRENT FINANCIAL PLIGHT OF
RADIOS AND BY MOOD OF CONGRESS. WE WOULD THEN FOLLOW-
UP WITHIN A SHORT TIME WITH APPROACH BY AMBASSADOR, POS-
SIBLY TO STATE SECRETARY FRANK. IN THESE APPROACHES WE
WOULD NOT REPEAT NOT STRESS THE LIKELIHOOD THAT MODEST-
TO-POOR RESULTS WILL EMERGE FROM BASKET 3 OF CSCE.
GERMANS MAY EVENTUALLY REACH THAT CONCLUSION ON THEIR
OWN, BUT THEY HAVE TAKEN STRONG INTEREST IN "FREER
MOVEMENT" ITEM, NOT LEAST BECAUSE OF THEIR SPECIAL
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CONCERN WITH REUNIFICATION OF FAMILIES AND THEIR SOECIAL
INNER-GERMAN PROBLEMS.

6. ON BALANCE, OUR JUDGEMENT IS THAT THE PROSOECTS FOR
EUROPEAN FUNDING ARE PROBABLY FAIRLY OOOR. IF WE ARE
TO HAVE ANY SUCCESS, IT WILL REQUIRE AN AOPROACH
INDICATING THAT THE CONTINUED EXISTENCE OF THE RADIOS
WITH SUBSTANTIAL EUROPEAN BUDGETARY SUPPORT IS A MATTER
OF ORIORITY CONCERN TO THE TOP LEVELS OF THE US
ADMINISTRATION.

7. TO FILL OUT THIS PICTURE AS WE SEE IT FROM BONN, IT
WOULD PERHAPS BE USEFUL FOR BRAINARD TO STOP OFF FOR

DISCUSSION OF EUROPEAN FUNDING IN LONDON ON RETURN FROM
WARSAW.
HILLENBRAND

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